

/110 cont./

coexist. It is a "maison en hauteur" /high house/ (3).

3. This is the expression of A. Demangeon, in his suggestive article on "L'habitation rurale en France /The rural habitation in France/, " Ann. de Géographie, 1920, pp. 370 sq. A comparison is made with an architecture common all around the Mediterranean: our Pyrenean and Alpine south, the western part of the Balkans, etc. A frequent feature there is the second-floor veranda, which we find here in the form of a sort of loggia: the assqqif.

the base of which is occupied by a shady and oblong stable: the agrur, plur. i^wgrar, source of heat and laboratory of manure.

This manure, amazir, carefully gathered, then spread on the minuscule squares of irrigation, renews a soil worn out by maldroit immersions and a production always kept going. By that, the Seksawa peasantry joins the oldest agricultural classicism of the Mediterranean. It is based on a give and take between man, soil, and animal. It thus contrasts in quasi²-absolute fashion with the plains agriculture in Morocco, where this liaison between herd and tillage disappeared sometime at an epoch otherwise uncertain, never to reappear any more up to now.

/111/ The stabling, propitious for the preservation of the young subjects, implies coherent care of the pastures: natural and even artificial. In the fields, at weeding time, for example, but also on the slopes surrounding the village, or in the forest, one sees the women gathering, basket in hand or an armful on the back. It is the men who cut and chop the young leaves of the holm oak or of the juniper tree for their beasts: a resource for winter. A whole range of plants is thus collected, and of such a type that a continuity manifests itself between the foods of man and those of the livestock. The difference between "salads" and provender is not great, and the solidarity between them, as soon as there is trouble or scarcity, is transformed into identity. Thus

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/footnote 1 continued/ completely any reference to organization by ikhs. For the Algerian S., I found valuable notes in D. Moulias, L'eau dans les oasis sahariennes (organisation hydraulique, régime juridique) /Water in the Saharan oases (hydraulic organization, juridical regime)/, 1927, where one will note suggestive details on the unending conflicts -- conflicts of the blind and the deaf -- between a legalist regulation and the customary reality in the Algerian S. in the course of the nineteenth century.

121 and a total module which, for the Seksawa, does not appear to
182 exceed 250 ls. for several hundred kilometers of séguia and some twelve thousand inhabitants point to authenticity or, on the contrary, indicate the effects of history?

Modes and Manurings

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Tillage differs from the bottom to the top of the mountains and by tools and by modes.

241 First, by the tools. The hoe, agelzim, plays an increasing-
412 ly larger role from downstream to upstream. Its domain is
184 horticulture, the intercalary modes, and in that case parcels too exiguous to permit the evolutions of the swing plow. At Bul'wân, it intervenes only as an instrument of finicky work on the edges, or else in places where the plow, coming and going, is obliged to leave certain corners in order to turn. In a. Mh'nd, on the contrary, it is the required complement of the plow, so that the tillage is usually done by two together, one holding the stilt, the other the tool in hand.

241 In Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, the classic harnessing of two beasts,
407 zzuja, is used. But in the montagnard domain, there is no more
492 than one beast, /160/ lferd. Yet it is always the man who plows,
184 and never the woman, as is done in the far Sous. A statistical
[162] sample gives for each of these two forms of harnessing, zzuja

Pl. V

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Seksawa women

/The complete caption for Pl. V is given on p. 652./

142 Plate V: Seksawa women.

222 (1) Young mother carrying her baby. Note (2) the pectoral,
291 tifilit, and the frontal, tawunza, made from small pieces of
292 silver. This jewelry is most often part of the property of the
301 woman, and of her contribution to the household, jihâz; (3)
302 little girl returning from the spring. The top of the cranium is
415 shaved until the little girl is nubile; (4) ah'wach of young girls:
462 finery of tassels of red silk and of foulards hanging down in the
854 back; (5) the gathering of wild or spontaneous plants, for the
857 nourishment of man or livestock, constitutes an important part
of the activities of the woman.

133 Plate VI: The ground of Agersili.

241 The winding white line at the bottom of the photograph is
312 the present trail, and the mountainous wrinkle toward the top,
487 the one that ends at Awrir Uluggu. Ravines on the right descend
from the counterforts of the Tabgurt and end, on the left, at a
capture, with a waterfall, called Aguni Wanehkir. The two
slopes of the central ravine are notched with terraces. One sees
distinctly, at the limit of the irrigation toward the bottom of the
photograph, the winding dark line of the great left-bank séguia
called Targa n-Tsila or T. Umerdul: after having cleared
Agersili, it cuts across the trail (last winding line on the left) in
order to go to the side of Ad'erd'ur. On the right bank, the two
villages of dry stone, Tawrir and Agerdayan, are almost con-
fused with the surrounding rocks. The smoothed reliefs at the
bottom of the photograph are those of the Chaif Aqqiunan, which
are joined to those of the Tasila. At Agersili 27 large irrigated
quarters are crowded on a section of ravine of less than two km.

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household. A little apart from the other rooms often rises a small, second-story chamber, the "tamesrit," where one receives guests, who have access to it from the outside.

The mountain houses are more modest. They are made of small, separate units to which one has access from the outside. They are constructed in stone, walled up with a little clay; their terraces are of earth and edged with heavy, flat stones. [231] Each of them has a second story, raised so little that one stands up with difficulty; the goats and sheep live below; the upper part is reserved for provisions and the habitation of people. /43/ The entrance doors are light and fragile, for one need not fear foreign thieves. A large, square room, without stories, covered by a terrace, in the center of which is arranged a wide opening, serves as kitchen and gynaeceum. All around stretch the threshing floors bordered by dressed stones. To avoid the cold and humidity, only tiny windows are pierced in the walls; in the regions disturbed by war, these openings take on the look of loopholes, and care is taken to arrange them in such a way that the inhabitants could not be hit by a bullet fired from outside. Finally, on the terraces, galleries closed by lattices of branches of pink laurel permit living in the open air; sheltered from the nearly vertical rays of the sun.

[361] These poor houses of the high valleys, all alike, tiered on a slope, often resemble the cells of a wasp's nest.

621 Sad in the rain and snow, when the inhabitants shiver in the
511 vermin and the clouds linger on the flank of the mountains, these
512 little hamlets become lively in the sun. In the brightened sky
[354] the fumes rise through the gaping openings of the kitchens; the
[521] men get together under the galleries to chat; the golden bunches
[251] of maize and the scarlet peppers dry on the terraces. The flocks
[233] leave the enclosures, guided by the children, while the women,
[857] who climb toward the forest in order to look for their heavy loads
[462] of dead wood, courageously forget their miserable existence and send out into the light the shrill note of their singing.

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*631 /makhzan/ or the great chiefs, would merit being compared with
619 the one that we discovered first of all in the footsteps of our first guides loyal to the kaid.

*631 Here, in fact, the villages that are tiered on the sunny
*634 slopes of the torrents, near immense walnut trees irrigated by
619 the gushing waters of the Atlas, do not know houses of sheiks or
[361] caliphates. In these valleys one would try in vain to distinguish
[342] the dwelling of the poor man from that of the rich. Each of these little mountain cantons forms a separate state that a council administers. Gathered on a terrace, all clothed in brown wool, the notables gravely debate among themselves, for /132/ long hours, the interests of their villages; no one raises his voice, and, seeing them, one would not be able to discover their president, a timid old man who has been given for one year the mission of carrying out their decisions and who is greeted by the title of "moqaddem" /mokaddam/. Their judgments are inspired by a custom
[671] that they hold from their ancestors without modifying it; they punish crimes, stop disputes, impose the most severe penalties on thieves. Their concern is gladly directed toward the protection of the crops and pastures. In every circumstance they watch jealously to see that the interests of the patriarchal families, whose heads they are, are precisely respected. Then, their deliberation ended, after a prayer recited together, they separate and go to supervise a corvée from a distance.

-462 The humble tableaux of the life in these villages in the high
184 mountains show us that the existence of the independent Berbères
512 /Berbers/ of the summits does not differ from that of their
[171] brothers of the Rif or of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. Here all the women are assembled in order to do the transporting of the manure together. Adorned with their festive apparel, rich and poor,
[482] young and old place on their heads large doum baskets filled with the village manure and descend, singing, in order to take the fertilizer to all the little fields that border the torrent. Another
[653] day all the men assemble, under the direction of the notables, in order to repair the ségulas or the souk /sook/ roads. Then, at the
221 end of spring, in all these small anarchical and happy republics,
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tribes located at several days' distance. It is understood that in this case no chief, no meeting of notables can have sufficient prestige to impose respect on such a crowd divided by the memory of so many quarrels. To order to have peace and security prevail during the holy days of the "mouggar," the fear of the punishments of a saint whose fearsome power is known to all is necessary.

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In the souqs and the "mouggar," men and women always occupy separate "rahba," different quarters. In certain tribes, where custom watches more carefully to see that the /252/ two sexes preserve a distinct activity in the external life, one finds special markets reserved for women. Doutté observed their existence in the north of the Haha; others are found in the South of that confederation and in the Sous plain among the Chtouka.

The explanation of this institution of markets specially reserved for women is perhaps quite simple. The Berbère /Berber/ woman is in fact exclusively entrusted with the purchase and sale of certain products, wool, henna, fruit, eggs, and one understands that she thus has her particular souqs; it might be, moreover, that this institution may conform to the usual tendency toward the division of the two sexes in the domestic life, which one observes among the Berbères /Berbers/. There is reason to note, however, that in the South of Morocco the women's souqs appear in the most Islamized regions. They are, on the contrary, unknown in the mountains, in the regions where the most ancient traditions have been best preserved. Let us add that certain women's markets are of recent creation, and that to justify their existence people in the tribes invoke the observance of the prescriptions of Islam on the rigorous separation of the sexes in social life (1).

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1. Cf. Doutté, Bulletin de l'Afrique française, supplément économique, 1905, p. 2, and our article, "Coutumes et légendes de la côte berbère /Customs and Legends of the Berber Coast/," Hespéris, 1924, 1st quarter, pp. 104-105.